

EUROPE'S BIG BUSINESS UNITED TO MAINTAIN PEACE

By FRANK H. SIMONDS.

THE meeting between Louis Loucheur, a member of the present Briand Cabinet and a survivor of the Clemenceau days, when he was a conspicuous figure in the Paris conference, and of Walter Rathenau, a member of the present Wirth Cabinet in Germany, has served to set many rumors afloat as to the possibility of an improvement of Franco-German relations. What is significant beyond all else in the meeting of these two men is that, although momentarily political figures, they have been and remain primarily the representatives of what we in America call "Big Business."

Let us recognize frankly at the beginning that if there be any possibility of an improvement of relations between France and Germany, it must come from the side of business and not of politics. Still if the political consequences of the world war and its subsequent settlements have been to build up new barriers between France and Germany, to add new volume to the vast mass of hatreds enduring from old times, it is not less plain that the economic results have been such as almost to impose a necessity of cooperation.

France, by Return of Mines, Is Europe's Great Iron Nation

To take a single example, the most striking and the most important. Before the war Germany and France produced about the same quantity of iron and their production accounted for more than half of the total of Europe, while the reserves of the two nations constituted well above half of the known iron resources of the European continent. The war has resulted in the return to France of the larger portion of the German iron reserves, which were, in fact, taken from France by Germany in 1871. To-day France is prospectively the great iron nation of Europe.

But it was in Germany and not in France that the iron industry had its great expansion. Very large portions of the French iron were exported to Germany before the war. Germany and not France to-day possesses the huge iron and steel centres which compare with our own Pittsburgh district. Certainly one must expect great expansion in French iron and steel industry in the future. But the fact remains that France lacks coal, which Germany possesses. Before the war Germany had both coal and iron. Henceforth she is dependent upon France for iron, but France is not less dependent upon Germany for coal.

Thus, in one of the most important phases of industry France and Germany are henceforth mutually dependent. If for a period of years German coal will flow to France as the most important detail in the reparations payments, even this benefit must end in time, and when that time comes France will have to find a basis for obtaining coal from Germany, just as Germany must now seek some way of obtaining iron from France. She cannot go outside of French fields for the simple reason that the cost would be prohibitive. But the river and canal systems of the Rhine, the Moselle and the Sarre supply an easy, cheap and ready means of cheap transportation between the two countries. Metz on the Moselle, Strasbourg on the Rhine, Saarbrücken on the Sarre, these are destined to be great centres in the transit trade of the future, and these three rivers highways of exchange between the two nations.

Cooperation of Their Enemies Is Economically Essential

But if cooperation on the industrial side between the two countries is almost obligatory, it remains true that political obstacles bar the way. Indeed, in any such examination of Franco-German relations as we are now making it is necessary in the first place to rule out all possibility of really friendly intercourse for at least a generation. Not until the scars of the last German invasion, not until the grimmest memories of German purposes and performances have been obliterated can one even hope that France will dismiss her present sentiments toward her neighbor on the east.

Beyond this heritage from an immediate past, which is after all, only the intensification of a sense of injury extending back over more than half a century, there exist two obstacles at present well nigh insurmountable. These are, on the French side, the fear of a new German attack; on the German side a conviction that France seeks the destruction of Germany, the disruption of that German unity created by Bismarck by three wars of aggression in the last century. As long as France is apprehensive of attack, eventual if not immediate, as long as Germany sees in each French gesture the proof of French designs to break up the Reich, Franco-German relations cannot improve.

Yet it is not beyond hope that both of these obstacles will with the passing of time diminish if not disappear. As to the possibility of a German attack, no one can mistake that to-day the hope and the desire for a new adjustment with France through the medium of war exists in Germany.

But liberty of action such as would permit the preparation of a new war is far in the future. For thirteen years at the least, allied armies will occupy German territory west of the Rhine. The Treaty of Versailles provides for progressive evacuation of the Rhine regions, but it also provides for reoccupation if Germany does not at all times comply with the disarmament terms of the treaty. One may conclude quite safely, then, that for the next thirteen years the process of disarmament will continue in Germany, the military establishment will disintegrate inevitably.

Conscription Will Die Out In Germany Under Disarmament

Not before 1934 at the earliest can Germany undertake the task of reconstructing her military forces, and this represents a span of fifteen years and a half between the surrender of November 11, 1918, and the moment when reconstruction can begin. But in this time most of the military leaders of the last war will have died or been retired by age. Of the soldiers who then made up the German army, the rank and file, all but the youngest classes, will have become incapacitated by age. The boys of 20 who served in the closing phases of the final campaign will be well over 35.

And in their places no other classes will have been trained. It is true that there have been and will continue to be evasions of the disarmament clauses, but these evasions will not exceed insignificant details. For fifteen years there will be no conscript army, the youth will not be called. Moreover, it is foolish to imagine that any attempt by clandestine methods to enforce national training will fail to awaken domestic protest, such as must excite international protest and interference.

One may conclude, then, quite accurately, first, that any prospect of an immediate German attack is preposterous. Every French-

man knows that Germany cannot to-day attack, that her disarmament has reached a point where it would be nothing short of suicide for her to challenge the army of Poch. Such a German enterprise would merely provoke destruction far within German territory; it would be Essen, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Frankfurt, which would suffer, not French cities.

If in 1934 Germany, her soil evacuated, should undertake to arm herself, she would instantly arouse the protests of millions of her citizens who would have no desire to undertake anew the old burdens of armed peace. And political opposition at home would advertise abroad her purpose, and the consequences would be a prompt attack by those neighbors, who would not for a single moment sit supine and allow Germany a new opportunity to repeat her preparations which led to the invasions of 1914.

However much one may weigh the hopes and the aspirations of masses of the German people to undo by violence if necessary the decisions of Paris, it seems to me clear that a full generation must pass before the thing is conceivably possible. And a full generation in which preparation for war is at best secret and circumscribed, means a change in the sentiment of the mass of the people. This is what happened in France in the years following 1870. On the morrow of the defeat most Frenchmen and most Europeans looked for a prompt French attack, but no attack came. On the contrary, year by year it became more and more certain that France would never by her own action bring a new German war, even to redeem her lost provinces.

French People Don't Wish Disruption of Germany

In sum, it seems to me inevitable that with the passing of years two things will take place: First, German inability to make a successful attack upon France will increase by reason of the operation of the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Second, with the growth of a habit of disarmament, with the disappearance of the custom of calling the youths of 20 annually, there will develop a distaste and a dislike for obligatory military service. Above all, there will develop a national opposition to such an expansion of military effort as would be necessary to permit an attack upon Germany's western neighbors, France, Belgium and Holland, and one must recognize that the new frontiers of Germany impose upon her the necessity of using Dutch as well as Belgian soil if she is to dispose of her French foe.

And such a development in Germany must have its corresponding effect in France. Apprehension, natural and totally justified ap-

Many Reasons Why Teutons Will Not Attack the French Again, So Quiet in Europe Seems Sure for a Generation

prehesion on the French side of the Rhine, must slowly yield to the passing of years in which German capacity and will to make war, to repeat the aggressions of 1870 and 1914, must steadily diminish. Even the wounds of the recent war will heal with time, and having healed will cease to supply a visible and stirring appeal to passion and to legitimate anxiety.

So much for the French sentiment. Now as to German fear that France seeks the disruption of Germany. In the first place, this is not the desire of the mass of the French people, even though it be the text of a few of the professional patriots of the sort which exists in every nation and in our own country would launch us upon a conquering march to Mexico city and upon a policy which would establish our southern boundary, for the moment at least, at the Colombian frontier of the Republic of Panama.

The fact is that the mass of the French people are not enlisted upon such an adventure, and the sentiment in all other countries would avail to prevent the application of such a policy were the French eager to apply it. Britain, Italy, even the United States, accepts the view that Germany will and should survive the last war as a united nation. The return to France, Poland and Denmark of territories wrongfully taken in other years represents the maximum of territorial punishment which these three nations will consent to. German unity, with these limitations, has survived and will survive the dangers of the war and the war settlement.

What seems reasonable to expect is that with time the keen edge will disappear from most if not all the material causes for friction. When the allied armies leave the Rhine, when the Sarre episode is terminated, when German reparations payments have largely contributed to bringing about the reconstruction of the ruins of Northern France, when German disarmament has endured for a decade and a half, one may expect a different attitude on both sides of the Rhine. And in the making of this new attitude the most important positive element is bound to be the economic and industrial interdependence of the two countries as a consequence of the iron and coal situations of the two nations.

There is an element in the German situation which it seems to me it would be folly

to overlook, and this is precisely Big Business. Before the war, during the war, German Big Business backed the military party. It was the industrial hierarchy behind the military which gave German militarism its real potency, made it the danger it became. The reason was that Big Business calculated that by war it could attain ends which were unattainable through peace. French iron mines were to be annexed, Belgium was to be included within the German frontiers, German domination of the Continent was to give German business the opportunity to organize the Continent industrially and commercially.

But the gamble turned out a disaster. The military arm proved incapable of realizing the plans which the economic commanders of modern Germany counted upon to realize. Now nothing seems less likely than that German Big Business will repeat the blunder.

It is axiomatic, moreover, that another war, a general conflict at any time in the present generation, would spell the ruin for all of Europe. So far as Europe is concerned there has been, in reality, no victor in the last struggle; every combatant nation has lost, and lost terribly. The labor to restore pre-war prosperity but tolerable conditions has been and will continue tremendous for many years to come. Thus Big Business in Germany will find little temptation to renew its old alliance with militarism. Rather business and finance in Germany, as well as out of it, must increasingly incline to oppose all war, to recognize that any war represents losses beyond the capacity of any victorious peace terms to make good.

Business and Finance More Important Than Politics

Insensibly, the world is passing out of the control of the politicians, just as it escaped the soldiers after the armistice. Business and finance are reasserting a control lost in the fatal twelve days of July, 1914. Then world business and international finance were divided, because the German masters in both fields believed that war would prove the most profitable of all investments. But the results have demonstrated the fallacy of this assumption. To-day the old solidarity tends to return. It can only continue to develop. Peace cannot be preserved by poli-

ticians, much less by soldiers; the ultimate guarantee of peace must be found outside of both groups; it must be found on the one hand, in the instinctive hostility of the masses of people for war, which lays upon them the heavy burdens and demands of the war, and on the other, upon those captains of finance and industry whose whole cosmos is ruined by conflict.

To me the meeting of Loucheur and Rathenau seems significant beyond most which has happened since the Treaty of Versailles was signed. The significance does not lie in what was done or not done, but the meeting itself is symbolical of what is taking place in Europe and in the world to-day. Finance and business are essentially international. If German Big Business had shared the view of the rest of the business world of this planet, there would have been no world war, because, at the final hour, German business would have intervened and the politician and the soldier would have been compelled to yield. But German business had already surrendered to the soldier and the politician, who were at best only its tools.

Now Germany has not been admitted to the League of Nations or to the Supreme Council, but German Big Business has reoccupied a place in the economic supreme council of the world, which is an unofficial body, but not less potent because of this fact. Certainly German business will seek to free Germany from every chain imposed by the Treaty of Versailles; assuredly it will pursue national and patriotic ends, which are also economic and selfish, but only within the limits which represent action without war.

Slight Prospect of New War Between France and Germany

And exactly in the same way, not only French Big Business, or rather Finance, but the Big Business of the world, exercising a restraining influence upon France, will operate to make impossible the adoption of a French policy which might drive Germany into a war which would mean national suicide. We shall have incidents, quarrels, ultimatums, strained hours and every sort of alarms, just as we have had them in the past, but the prospect of an armed collision between France and Germany in the lifetime of any mature person now alive is slight and growing slighter.

The future of Germany, from the industrial and economic point of view does not and cannot lie in new adventures in the West, either in a fresh attack upon France or in a new challenge to Britain on the high seas. It must be sought along the Danube and perhaps on the Vistula. Central Europe

is and will remain the natural sphere for German industrial expansion. Despite all that other nations may do, it is Germany which will win most of the economic prizes when Russia comes back into the circle of civilized nations again. But if German imperialism seeks to make political annexation the accompaniment of industrial expansion then the edifice will be wrecked a second time.

The real obstacle to Franco-German peace is not Alsace-Lorraine or even the Sarre, but Poland. France has assumed the position of protector of Poland because in the Polish alliance lies the sole method of bridging the gap between French and German man power. But one may question how far the French championship of Poland would go, once the question of French security from German attack were established. The most useful contribution the Western nations could make to the improvement of Franco-German relations, to the preservation of Franco-German peace, which in reality means the peace of the world, would be the clear demonstration to the German mind that an attack upon France would mean not 1870 or even 1914, but 1918 again.

If we have done with the soldier, we are all of us still struggling with the sense of the politician as the dominating factor in the world situation, but in reality, he, too, has abdicated. It is true in the United States, where Mr. Hughes and Mr. Hoover are very frankly shaping our foreign policy in conformity with our economic and financial interests; it is true in Great Britain to a superlative degree. Less completely but not less plainly the same influences are regaining control in France and in Germany. When we have an association of nations, whether the old league, the present Supreme Council or some brand new international conference, it will be Big Business and High Finance which will dominate it and that domination will be directed at imposing peace upon the world.

The severest criticism of the Paris settlement has always been that it was made by soldiers and politicians without regard to economic and industrial circumstances, and that as a consequence it promoted international chaos instead of restoring world peace. But the events of recent weeks and months have very clearly demonstrated that the peace terms are to be applied by the leaders of the financial and economic world and not by soldiers or politicians. This means compromise and adjustment in many directions, it means modification, not in terms but in practice. And of all of the things which it means, none is more important or more striking than that which is indicated by the meeting between Loucheur and Rathenau. Copyright, 1921, by McClure Newspaper Syndicate.

French Colonies Prosper Under Republic's Humane Rule

By DR. GUSTAVE DE LA JARRIE.

AN Annamite proverb says: "Navigating a river, one has to follow its turnings; entering a house, one must follow its customs." In governing her colonial possessions France has always followed this counsel, observing two essentials—the part of the natives (i. e., their customs) and the part of the legislator (i. e., the law).

For France the penetration of civilization means her best and superior gifts, without destroying the racial attributes of the annexed peoples. In fact, she considers that, no matter how inferior a race may be, this people is nevertheless conscious of a certain rudimentary science, demanding comparison with what is offered in place of it.

One must not forget that the native is the living incarnation of the earth that nourishes and protects him; and that he is identified with its soil and its productions. By virtue of his native intuitions he has, after a long struggle, become master of nature, which has been the object of his daily observation, the arsenal of his weapons, without being able to transform it scientifically.

French colonizers and colonial administrators—all those who are interested in colonial expansion, understanding its importance and having vision like Ferry, Doumer, Gallieni, Lyautey—understand that what is true in the material is also true in the ideal. Therefore the colonial regime of France is based on respect of the individuality and moral conscience of the natives as well as their physical persons. That is why France is beloved by all her subjects.

France Finds Her Beneficent Genius In Sarraut, Minister of Colonies

From a colonial point of view France also has found her beneficent genius in Albert Sarraut, the present Minister of Colonies. With his spirit of energy and organization there is no doubt that the light of prosperity will soon shine on all French colonies and protectorates.

The importance of France's colonial dominions is but insufficiently known, though after Great Britain's it is second to none. The French colonies comprise 11,848,904 square kilometers—i. e., the equivalent of the areas of the United States and Alaska put together, twenty-two times that of France and with a native population of 58,000,000.

From an economic point of view it is not known widely enough that the French colonies offer great markets, open to industrial and commercial activities, and that a rational exploitation of their animal, vegetable and mineral wealth may have incalculable results. Furthermore, only those well informed in international finance know that the commercial turnover of the French colonial empire was 6,681,000,000 francs in 1920, and that it might be tenfold.

Two of the few who have this understanding and vision, and who are experts in finance, gave a few days ago, and almost simultaneously, their opinions of the great value of the French colonies. Otto H. Kahn, in the *Matin* (Paris), writes that in his opinion one of the most interesting factors in the comeback of France would be the development of her vast and immensely rich colonial empire. Henry E. Cooper, vice president of the Equitable Trust Company of New York, says in the Paris edition of THE NEW YORK HERALD that France, with her reconquered territories and her colonies, is, as concerns raw materials and capacity of production, becoming a power in the world, which few Americans realize and all Frenchmen ignore.

To write the history of French colonization one would have to go back to five centuries before the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. One would have to

With Area 22 Times as Great as Mother Country and Aggregate Population of 58,000,000 Future Looks Bright Indeed

follow the Basque fishermen into the boreal seas, pursuing the whale, and stopping on the coasts of Maine; one would have to follow the Norman sailors on their adventurous cruises to the Occidental coast of Africa, or the Rochelle sailors to the coasts of Brazil, or Duplex to India, Cartier and Champlain to the Saint Lawrence and the Mississippi.

It was really in 1830 that the era of France's colonial policy commenced, ushered in by the famous Algerian expedition, marking the beginning of civilization in Africa. This Algerian conquest is said to have been the result of the Dey of Algiers's affront to a representative of France, but the causes leading up to this affront are to be found in the anachronism of piracy existing on the Mediterranean—the cradle of civilization—and the "incident of the fan" but started the expedition that destroyed the hornet's nest.

To-day Algiers is one of the most magnificent ports in the world and Algeria one of the most beautiful and fertile regions known, giving without counting, like a rich and generous person, of her agricultural and mineral riches. Her native population collaborates in administrative and governmental works; religion and customs are respected; trades and artisanship are developing; roads, railways, ports, the most perfect economic utilities grow in number, thus transforming this land of barbarism and slavery.

Not more than half a century ago traffic of slaves flourished in Africa. By the door of Algeria France entered the dark continent; means of communication were established, and the slave traffic disappeared.

If the "incident of the fan" conducted France quickly to her establishment in Algeria, consecutive events caused her to assume a preponderant part in Tunisia, a part she could not leave to the care of others. It is true that her interests in this country date back several centuries, the Consul of France having had preeminence at the Beylical Court since 1855. Under the Second Empire Italian intrigue almost replaced this preeminence. Renewed provocations remaining unpunished by the Beylical Government caused France to send a punitive expedition in 1881, and the outcome was the establishment of the French protectorate.

France's regime of protectorate as conceived by her according to the laws of humanitarian principles is most gentle and paternal; the native population governs and administers itself, guided, counselled and protected by France.

In less than thirty years desolate and ruined regions, dangerous for travel, have been transformed into lands of progress; Tunisia has again become fertile as in the days of the splendors of Carthage. If on the Acropolis the pyramidal cypress trees no longer shelter the temple of Eschmone, we see enchanted gardens and villas, as beautiful as any past splendors, on the shores of the Lake of Tunis, and of the gulf surrounded by mountains, and everywhere, from Soussa to Sfax and Khairouan.

Pacifying Influence of France Brings Notable Results in Morocco

At the western extremity of the Atlas Mountain chain, which separates fertile North Africa from the desert, is Morocco, the ancient storehouse of abundance of Rome, reduced by centuries of sinister occupation by the Berber dynasty to a state of lethargy, from which it was awakened only a few years ago, to become again a treasure house of abundance, this time for Greater France. Here also the influence of France is felt as a pacifying power trying to guide the Maghreb to the road of civilization, while respecting his autonomy.

To tell of the remarkable results seems almost like telling a fairy tale. It is showing this immense country in full rebellion against every civilizing influence, listening to the advice and suggestion of German emissaries, provoking the people against France, thus obliging the latter to send punitive expeditions. In spite of all in ten years under the clever and energetic direction of Marechal Lyautey, true type of the French colonizing officer, not only intrepid soldier but also enlightened administrator, savant, engineer, wise legislator, leader of men, conqueror and pacifier at the same time, Morocco has been completely transformed.

Prior to 1911, French occupation was limited to Chouaia, the prairie which surrounds Casablanca. Three years later, in the whole country, as far as the passes of the Atlas and even beyond, the warrior tribes in rebellion began to cultivate the land; herds grazed in liberty; cities were founded, factories constructed; civilization and progress again abide in their former dominion. Casablanca, the white, dazzling city, threw off her Oriental tunic, became a marvelous Occidental city, palpitating with life, "emporium" of more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, proud of the rich stores and sumptuous hotels, of the port, where now big steamers are sheltered behind protecting jetties. All this has been studied, elaborated and realized since 1911, while France was using all her life force to keep off the German invaders.

Railway systems have been constructed, splendid automobile roads have been built, permitting the tourist to travel comfortably and securely from Mogador, on the border of the desert, to Marrakech, to Mazagan, Rabat, Fez, Tangiers and by the road, which is the result of an admirable perseverance, to attain *Algiers la blanche*.

What France, thanks to the energy of Marechal Lyautey, has accomplished in Morocco seems miraculous. Le Maghreb, astonished and grateful, says "merci"—i. e., "it is written." Opening wide his door, he now welcomes the "troupe" not as an enemy, stronger than he, but as a more nearly perfect genius and wise collaborator.

Reviewing the Transformations In the Upper Niger Region

I recall the great joy I felt when, twenty-five years ago, leaving Paris to go to Senegalia with the intention of exploring the upper Niger, I was at last starting on the voyage that I had dreamed of so long.

The prospect of penetration into the still mysterious Soudan, of seeing Timbuctoo, city forbidden to the white race, finding the possibility of turning the commerce of the Soudan to Senegalia, and by the very fact of this penetration permitting the French to continue alone the work commenced in concert with the English, namely: The abolition of the slave traffic and slavery, still flourishing in Central Africa, all this exalted my joy, made me impatient to arrive.

Timbuctoo is no longer the forbidden city, the Niger is no longer furrowed by natives' proques only, but steamers as well, flying the French flag, navigate from Barinasso to the falls of Bousso, which is more than 3,000 kilometers, carrying all the products of these regions, these products to be sent to Saint-Louis or Dakar by railroad.

The prosperity of this country, still unorganized twenty years ago, grows day by day. Institutions are founded and one of the most useful and astonishing is the medical college of French Occidental Africa, the functioning of which is followed with the greatest attention by the Minister of the Colonies. Native physicians and pharmacists' aids and midwives are prepared in this college and have a great work before them

in prophylaxis for local diseases, hygiene and puerculture.

The French established themselves in Senegalia in the fourteenth century, but the era of colonization dates only from 1855, with Gen. Faidherbe. Senegalia has always been the point of departure for all the great colonialists who had the Soudan for objective. The trail was blazed by Col. Desbordes and has been constantly followed since.

Senegalia, Fouta-Djallon, Gambia, French Guinea, Dahomey with the Soudan, form the immense French colony of Occidental Africa, reaching from Tchad to the Atlantic shores, from the Sahara to equatorial Africa. The vast solitudes of the French Sahara link Occidental Africa to Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco.

From the Soudan to the Independent State of Congo and to the Atlantic Ocean we find the French territory of equatorial Africa, comprising the military territories of the Tchad, and the following States: Oubanghi, Chari, Tchad, Congo and Gabon. Equatorial Africa evokes names of the celebrated explorers who have given to France this vast and rich dominion. Savorgnan de Brazza and Col. Marchand stand out most clearly.

By the Franco-German agreement of November 4, 1911, France, to avoid a quarrel, yielded to Germany an important part of the French Congo adjoining Cameroon. If, by the Treaty of Versailles, the German colony of Cameroon was allotted to France, it must be confessed that she does not gain much by this allotment because one might well say that she receives but little more than was already hers.

In enumerating the French possessions on the African continent one must not forget the territory of Obock on the coast of Somalis, in the Gulf of Aden. Djibouti, the port of this territory, is the only outlet of Ethiopia, ancient foyer of the Khouaschite civilization—of prehistoric fame.

Wrongly attributed to Africa, Madagascar, revealed to the Occident under the name of "Madeigascar" by Marco Polo, was visited about 1500 by Norman and Britany sailors, adventurous traders, who called this island "Insulinde." In 1642 Richelieu accorded to the Dieppe Capt. Rigault the authorization to found a colony there, but it was only in 1895 that France became definitively mistress of Madagascar and that pacification and administration were commenced and accomplished by Gen. Gallieni, one of the noble figures among French colonizing soldiers.

This island, having an area bigger than France, by 60,000 square kilometers, possesses great mineral, vegetable and animal wealth. The Malgaches, while accepting the products of civilization, resist, nevertheless, the benefits of it.

France Carries Her Civilization To Many South Seas Possessions

To the South Seas also France has carried her civilization, and her possessions there are numerous. One of the most important is New Caledonia. This archipelago has since 1854 belonged to France. In the beginning it was annexed to her other possessions in the South Seas, the centre of which was Tahiti, but soon New Caledonia was declared a colony and became a place of deportation. The climate is salubrious, and the natives, formerly cannibals, are now farmers and valuable auxiliaries of the Europeans.

France possesses numerous other archipelagos near New Caledonia, but the ensemble of her South Sea possessions would be incomplete, closed, blocked, if she did not add her other natural dependency, the New Hebrides.

This question is of particular interest to France, who hopes to obtain soon the recognition of her sovereignty, for the persever-

ing efforts of the Minister of the Colonies to have the annexation of the New Hebrides decided will certainly be successful, as the Prime Minister of Australasia is completely in favor of this solution.

If the New Hebrides should be accorded to another nation, France's South Sea possessions would be isolated and even New Caledonia would be separated from Tahiti.

Will France again make the mistake of permitting barriers to be erected between herself and her possession Indo-China by fortifying the maritime passages, as she let the British do? Would she want to lessen her prestige and forego her rights in the Pacific by listening to certain fantastic suggestions recently put forth, suggestions that would favor Japanese penetration into New Caledonia, giving Japan certain rights to the port of Noumea? Would she not be obliged to consider the attitude of Australasia and of the United States? Why should France consent to make any such concessions to the Japanese, against the peaceful invasion of whom she has already to defend herself in Indo-China?

Without being Japanophile, I do not hesitate to say that, not only in the present interest of France but also in that of the future, France should not further Nippon's ambition for supremacy in the Pacific. France's policy is the same as in the question of the island of Yap, a policy not of sentiment only, but also of interest. For, if France wishes to keep her marvellous dominion of the "Union Indo-Chinoise Française," which is coveted by the Japanese as the Philippines are coveted by them, she must support the American policy in the Pacific.

Indo-China Offers Many Striking Examples of French Enterprise

Indo-China! If there is a country or an ensemble of countries that shows striking proofs of French activity in the Far East it is certainly Indo-China. Cochinchina, Annam, Tonking, Cambodia and Laos—what wonderful visions and emotions they conjure up: gulfs bathed in dazzling sunlight; joyous landscapes half hidden in verdure; unceasing activity of junks and sampans on rivers and arroyos; forest splendors, undreamed of grandeur; and a multitude of monuments testifying to past civilizations; royal palaces and sacred precincts; tombs of past and present dynasties; strange and impressive superpositions of the influences of Buddha and Confucius.

Since French occupation of Indo-China an era of prosperity has begun for these countries. Commerce, industry, education, science and art are flourishing. The Union Indo-Chinoise has her medical schools, schools of pharmacy, of law, of agriculture, veterinary schools, institutes of technology and applied sciences. The student bodies of these schools are composed of natives as well as Chinese and Japanese who wish to benefit by French culture.

Ports such as Saigon, vast maritime arsenal; Haiphong, transit port; Tourane and others are improved day by day for the greater profit of "Far Eastern France."

This short outline, though summary and therefore necessarily incomplete, will open new horizons to the reader on the importance and wealth of things to be done in the French colonies and protectorates. To make them give forth their riches for the good of all mankind they have to be equipped with all the necessary utilities. The colonial programme of Albert Sarraut, the energetic Minister of the Colonies, aims at the realization of this. The execution of the programme takes money, much money. It is entirely an affair of capital.

Franco-American cooperation would give interesting results. I have already quoted the opinions of two eminent American financiers on this subject, and I conclude by saying that a great country like the United States cannot afford to ignore the laws of economic expansion, and that there is an opening in the French colonial market to which France invites her American friends.